

Message Text

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 SAM-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07

H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01

SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 NIC-01 AID-20 IO-14 OMB-01 EA-11

ACDA-19 DRC-01 /186 W

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P R 060751Z MAY 74

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0092

INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY ROME

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 LUSAKA 0827

ROME FOR VAT

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINS, PO, NI

SUBJECT: KAUNDA URGES SPINOLA/LIBERATION MOVEMENT

DIALOGUE

1. SUMMARY. WITH PLEA FOR ACTIVE US ROLE, PRESIDENT'S SPECIAL ASSISTANT CHONA, SPEAKING ON BEHALF OF KAUNDA, SOUGHT IMPRESS ON AMBASSADOR MAY 3 URGENT NEED FOR COMMENCEMENT OF DIALOGUE BETWEEN SPINOLA REGIME AND LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. PROMPT CONTACT NECESSARY IN ORDER NOT LOSE MOMENTUM TOWARD POLITICAL SOLUTION IN PORTUGUESE AFRICAN TERRITORIES AND PREVENT CREATION OF VACUUM INTO WHICH SOVIETS AND SOUTH AFRICANS COULD MOVE TO DETRIMENT OF ALL CONCERNED, INCLUDING FUTURE PORTUGUESE INTERESTS IN AFRICA. WITH ASSISTANCE OF ZAMBIA, TANZANIA, AND OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES AND US, PORTUGAL AND LIBERATION MOVEMENTS COULD REACH AGREEMENT ON COMMON EFFORT ASSURE STABILITY, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND RATIONAL PROGRESS

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TOWARD SELF-DETERMINATION. CONTINUING SIGNIFICANT

PORTUGUESE CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC PRESENCE CONTEMPLATED WHETHER OR NOT THERE ULTIMATE FORMAL ASSOCIATION WITH METROPOLE. SUBJECT DISCUSSED AT LENGTH BY GRZ WITH FRELIMO'S MACHEL WHO READY FOR CONTACT WITH SPINOLA GOVERNMENT. KAUNDA ANXIOUS THAT US ATTEMPT (A) PERSUADE SPINOLA SEEK FRAMEWORK FOR SELF-DETERMINATION AND (B) DISCOURAGE SOUTH AFRICAN INTERVENTION. SIMILAR APPROACH FOR VATICAN SUPPORT ALSO MADE SAME DAY TO PRO-NUNCIO. END SUMMARY.

2. PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR MARK CHONA CALLED AMBASSADOR TO STATE HOUSE AFTERNOON MAY 3 FOR ONE AND HALF HOUR CONVERSATION ON ZAMBIAN VIEWS CONCERNING NEED FOR PROMPT COMMUNICATION BETWEEN GENERAL SPINOLA AND LEADERS OF LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN PORTUGUESE AFRICAN TERRITORIES (PAT'S) TO AVOID DANGEROUS MISCALCULATIONS AND ESTABLISH POLITICAL FRAMEWORK FOR MOVING TOWARD SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE IN PAT'S.

3. CHONA EXPLAINED THAT PRESIDENT KAUNDA WANTED PERSONALLY TO REVIEW ZAMBIA'S POSITION WITH ME EVENING OF MAY 2 BUT UNDERSTOOD MY INABILITY TO RESPOND IMMEDIATELY TO SUMMONS BECAUSE OF PREVIOUS COMMITMENT WITH OFFICIAL GUESTS. PRESIDENT CHARGED CHONA WITH TASK AS HIS OWN CALENDAR FULLY BOOKED MAY 3.

4. CHONA EXPLAINED THAT ZAMBIAN POSITION ON PAT'S ORIGINALLY DEVELOPED FOR SEPTEMBER 1973 VISIT TO ZAMBIA OF JORGE JARDIM, WAS SUBSEQUENTLY COMMUNICATED TO CAETANO GOVERNMENT IN PORTUGAL. IN JANUARY 1974 PORTUGUESE TOLD ZAMBIANS THEIR SUGGESTED FRAMEWORK POSED NO PROBLEMS, CHONA SAID.

5. ZAMBIAN PAPER EXPANDED AND FURTHER REFINED FOR KISSINGER-MWAANGA MEETING APRIL 15 IN NEW YORK WHICH PROVED ABORTIVE. IN VIEW OF SPINOLA COUP AND TO AVOID DELAY, ZAMBIANS NOW WANTED MAIN POINTS OF THEIR POSITION COMMUNICATED TO US GOVERNMENT IN HOPES USG WOULD BE PERSUADED TO BRING CONCEPT OF NEED FOR URGENT COMMUNICATION WITH LEADERS OF

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LIBERATION MOVEMENTS TO ATTENTION OF GOP. AMBASSADOR MADE NO COMMITMENT BEYOND SAYING MATTER WOULD BE REPORTED TO WASHINGTON.

6. ZAMBIAN TEN-POINT PLAN PROPOSES PORTUGUESE AND REPRESENTATIVES OF LIBERATION MOVEMENTS MEET SOON TO DISCUSS AGREEMENT ON FOLLOWING STEPS WHICH NEED NOT BE TAKEN IN SEQUENCE:

(A) BOTH PARTIES TO SUBSCRIBE TO PEACE AND FAVOR POLITICAL
OVER MILITARY SOLUTION TO FUTURE OF PATS;

(B) PORTUGAL AND LIBERATION MOVEMENTS SHARE RESPONSIBILITY FOR DEVELOPMENT OF THESE TERRITORIES IN ATMOSPHERE
OF STABILITY;

(C) PORTUGAL TO WORK FOR SELF-DETERMINATION IN COOPERATION
WITH PEOPLE OF PATS IN CONVINCING MANNER WHICH BUILDS
CONFIDENCE;

(D) PORTUGAL TO LIFT BAN ON GENUINE ACTIVITY OF POLITICAL
PARTIES IN TERRITORIES. (CHONA UNDERSTOOD SPINOLA
GOVERNMENT HAD ACTUALLY DONE THIS, BASED ON
MONITORED MAY 3 BBC AND SOUTH AFRICAN RADIO
BROADCASTS;

(E) LIBERATION MOVEMENTS TO REAFFIRM THEIR COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS, NON-RACIALISM AND NON-
ALIGNMENT AND BE FREE TO WORK TOWARD PORTUGUESE
COMMONWEALTH (CHONA SAID THIS FAVORED OVER
FEDERATION);

(F) PORTUGAL TO DESIST FROM FURTHER MILITARIZATION
OF AFRICAN POPULATION IN TERRITORIES;

(G) AFRICAN AND OTHER STATES TO ASSIST NEWLY INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES;

(H) EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES TO PROVIDE "MASSIVE
ECONOMIC AID TO PORTUGAL" (SIC) TO HELP WITH ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT OF PAT'S UPON GOP'S DECISION TO
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RELINQUISH COLONIES;

(I) ALL UN AGENCIES TO RENDER ASSISTANCE TO PORTUGAL
AND PAT'S.

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EA-11 ACDA-19 /186 W

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P R 060751Z MAY 74

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0093

INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY ROME

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 LUSAKA 0827

ROME FOR VAT

7. CHONA WENT ON TO SAY PRESIDENT KAUNDA HAD ASKED HIM TO URGE THAT USG (A) IMPRESS UPON GENERAL SPINOLA DANGERS OF HESITATION IN SEARCH FOR FRAMEWORK FOR SELF-DETERMINATION. CHONA SAID SPINOLA HAD POSED AS A DEGAULLE AND NOW MUST ACT LIKE DEGAULLE DID WITH ALGERIA. SUCH FORTHRIGHT ACTION COULD IMPROVE SPINOLA'S WORLD IMAGE AND THAT OF NEW, EMERGING PORTUGAL. CHONA WAS CONFIDENT THAT DIRECT EXCHANGE WOULD BE FAR BETTER THAN FURTHER AND SOMEWHAT VAGUE PUBLIC STATEMENTS BY SPINOLA WHICH WERE INCREASINGLY SUBJECT TO DIFFERENT INTERPRETATIONS, AND CAUSED DOUBT OF BONA FIDES, CREATED UNCERTAINTY AND COULD LEAD TO MISCALCULATION. (B) URGE SOUTH AFRICA TO RECOGNIZE THAT LUSAKAMANIFESTO DEALS DIFFERENTLY WITH ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE AND GUINEA-BISSAU; SOUTH AFRICA'S PROBLEM IS "OF DIFFERENT ORDER REQUIRING DIFFERENT SOLUTION." CHONA WARNED CONFIDENTIAL

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AGAINST RISKS OF SOUTH AFRICAN INTERVENTION IN PAT'S. SAG INTERVENTION COULD ENDANGER POWER OF MORAL SUASION WHICH ZAMBIA AND TANZANIA HAVE OVER LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. CHONA ADMITTED, HOWEVER, THAT NEITHER ZAMBIA NOR TANZANIA

PRETENDED IT CONTROLLED LIBERATION GROUPS. (C)
ADVISE SOUTH AFRICA THAT PRESENT SITUATION FOLLOWING
SPINOLA COUP GIVES SAG BEST EXCUSE IT HAS EVER HAD
FOR WITHDRAWING FROM RHODESIA IF INDEED IT HAS
DOUBTS (AS RUMORED) ABOUT RHODESIA'S STAYING POWERS
OR FUTURE. CHONA SAID RACIAL REASONS RATHER THAN SECURITY
EXPLAINED SOUTH AFRICAN PRESENCE IN RHODESIA. ADDED IF
GUERRILLA WAR IN MOZANBIQUE ENDS, IT DOES NOT REPEAT NOT
MEAN IT ENDS IN RHODESIA; RATHER, IT WILL INTENSIFY.
COUNSELED SOUTH AFRICA TO ENGAGE IN ITS OWN INTERNAL
DIALOGUE WITH AFRICANS I SOUTH AFRICA. CHONA CONVINCED
SAG DISENGAGEMENT FROM RHODESIA WOULD FORCE IAN SMITH
TO NEGOTIATE ON MORE REASONABLE TERMS.

8. IF ANY OF FOREGOING CONDITIONS OR PROPOSALS FOR
AGREEMENT SEEMED DIFFICULT FOR PORTUGAL, CHONA
SUGGESTED PORTUGUESE ATTENTION BE DRAWN TO FOLLOWING:
GUARANTEES FOR SECURITY OF PORTUGUESE NATIONALS
PROVIDED FOR BY PARAGRAPH 15 OF LUSAKA MANIFESTO.
PRESERVATION OF PORTUGUESE INTERESTS IN AFRICA COULD
BE GUARANTEED THROUGH POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC
RELATIONS; MUTUAL CONFIDENCE AND TRUST ESSENTIAL TO THIS
END. LUSO COMMONWEALTH SHOULD BE BASED ON
INDEPENDENT PORTUGUESE-SPEAKING NATIONS LIKE BRAZIL.
PORTUGAL COULD MAINTAIN ITS CULTURAL INFLUENCE THROUGH
LANGUAGE, TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, AND EDUCATION.
ECONOMIC RELATIONS COULD BE MAINTAINED AND EXPANDED
THROUGH TRADE AND INVESTMENT. ZAMBIA'S ECONOMIC
RELATIONS WITH UK ARE BEST EXAMPLE OF THIS POSSIBILITY.
DEFENSE AND SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS COULD BE WORKED
OUT WITHIN CONFEDERATION. FINALLY, PORTUGAL COULD BE
MORE CLOSELY INTEGRATED WITH EUROPE ONCE RELIEVED OF
FIANCIAL BURDENS OF ITS AFRICAN INVOLVEMENT.

9. CHONA INDICATED THAT FOREGOING FRAMEWORK OF
CONDITIONS AND AGREEMENTS DISCUSSED AT LENGTH WITH
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PRESIDENT SAMORA MACHEL OF FRELIMO WHO IS READY
AND ANXIOUS FOR CONTACT AND COMMUNICATION WITH
SPINOLA GOVERNMENT. ZAMBIA AND TANZANIA STAND
READY TO ASSIST; INDEED THEIR POLICY TOWARD PATS HAS
BEEN CAREFULLY COORDINATED OVER RECENT MONTHS. AS
FOR DIFFERENCES AMONG LIBERATION GROUPS IN ANGOLA,
WHICH I RAISED, CHONA OPTIMISTICALLY FELT THESE COULD
BE SORTED OUT AND UNITED FRONT PRESENTED IN ANY MEETING
WITH PORTUGUESE, IF ASSURANCES OF PORTUGUESE WILLING-
NESS TO OPEN DISCUSSION GIVEN BY SPINOLA AND CLIMATE OF
CONFIDENCE CREATED.

10. CHONA ARGUED AGAINST REFERENDUM AS HUMILIATING MEANS OF DETERMINING READINESS FOR SELF-DETERMINATION. HE IMPRESSED WITH CALIBRE AND DISCIPLINE OF FRELIMO LEADERS "IN WHOM EVERY AFRICAN SHOULD TAKE PRIDE." FURTHER ARGUED THAT PORTUGAL HAD NOTHING TO FEAR OR LOSE FROM ZAMBIAN PROPOSALS.

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P R 060751Z MAY 74

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0094

INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY ROME

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 LUSAKA 0827

ROME FOR VAT

11. CHONA STRESSED NEED FOR PROMPT ACTION, INSISTING DELAYS COULD CREATE VACUUM OF WHICH EITHER SOVIETS, SOUTH AFRICANS OR BOTH COULD TAKE ADVANTAGE. SAID WAS CERTAIN (WHICH HE HOPED WOULD NOT SOUND NAIVE) THAT CHINESE WOULD NOT TRY TO PLAY GAMES.

12. AS TO TIMING, CHONA THOUGHT (SOMEWHAT DIFFERENTLY FROM TANZANIANS HE ADMITTED) THAT IF DISCUSSIONS OPENED IMMEDIATELY, LIBERATION MOVEMENTS COULD, WITHIN ONE YEAR, HAVE GIVEN EVIDENCE

OF THEIR READINESS TO MOVE FORWARD SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE. HE RECOGNIZED THAT AGREEMENT ON TIME SCHEDULE MATTER FOR DISCUSSION BOTH PARTIES.

13. I ASKED WHAT ROLE JORGE JARDIM WAS PLAYING IN
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ZAMBIAN PLAN. CHONA SOMEWHAT EMBARRASSED BY QUESTION, SAYING HAD NOT HEARD MUCH FROM HIM LATELY AND ASKING MY OPINION OF HIM. NOT KNOWING JARDIM, I MERELY RAISED QUESTIONS REGARDING JARDIM'S REAL INTERESTS: HIS OWN? FREE MOZAMBIQUE'S? PORTUGAL'S? SOUTH AFRICA'S?

14. ON MORNING MAY 4 APOSTOLIC PRO-NUNCIO ANGELONI CALLED AND IN BRIEF PHONE CONVERSATION WITH AMBASSADOR CONFIRMED HE TOO SUMMONED BY CHONA FOR 45 MINUTE TALK ON TEN-POINT ZAMBIAN FRAMEWORK. SAID PAPER IDENTIFIED TO HIM AS "PART OF GRZ PRESENTATION TO USG IN WASHINGTON." CHONA WOULD BE VISITING ROME MAY 16 FOR TALKS AT VATICAN, INDICATING GRZ ATTEMPTING REACTIVATE THAT CHANNEL FOR PRESSURE ON SPINOLA JUNTA FOR PROMPT ACTION TOWARD INDEPENDENCE IN PATS.

15. COMMENT. WE NOTE FROM LISBON 1735 THAT SPINOLA LAST WEEK REJECTED CONTACTS WITH LIBERATION MOVEMENTS ("INSURGENTS") AT THAT PARTICULAR MOMENT, GIVING IMPRESSION HE BIDDING HIS TIME BUT INTENDS EVENTUALLY TO MEET WITH THEM. WE PRESUME THIS COULD BE SOON AFTER NEW CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT FORMED.

16. SUBJECT TO DEPARTMENT'S VIEWS, WE BELIEVE QUESTION OF SPINOLA'S INTENTIONS REGARDING POSSIBLE DISCUSSIONS WITH LIBERATION GROUPS AND TIMING OF ANY SUCH DISCUSSIONS WOULD NOT RPT NOT BE OUT OF ORDER AS ONE OF NUMBER OF SUBJECTS WHICH COULD BE RAISED IN CONTACTS WHICH EMBASSY LISBON HAS STARTED WITH SPINOLA JUNTA. AFTER ALL, WE ARE INTERESTED IN PEACE AND STABILITY IN AREA; END OF GUERILLA WARS AND LOSS OF LIFE; HAVE CERTAIN ECONOMIC AND TRADE INTERESTS IN PATS; AND ARE CLEARLY ON RECORD WITH PORTUGUESE AND OTHERS IN FAVOR OF SELF-DETERMINATION. SINCE IT COSTS US LITTLE AT THIS STAGE, OUR INABILITY TO BE EVEN MODERATELY RESPONSIVE WOULD NOT BE UNDERSTOOD. HAVING COME PHILOSOPHICALLY TO ACCEPT OUR INABILITY TO PROVIDE EVEN HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO LIBERATION GROUPS, GOOD OFFICES ROLE IN WHAT BORDER STATES IN FREE AFRICA EXPECT OF US.
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17. ZAMBIA AND TANZANIA HAVE TAKEN INITIATIVE AS
PRESTIGIOUS MODERATE BORDER STATES IN SEARCH FOR
PEACEFUL SOLUTION UNDER TERMS 1969 LUSAKA MANIFESTO.
THEY ARE BOTH URGING PATIENCE AND RESTRAINT ON
LIBERATION GROUPS, BUT THERE IS LIMIT TO HOW LONG
THEY CAN HOLD THESE FORCES IN CHECK BEFORE LIBERA-
TION MOVEMENTS AS WELL AS GRZ AND TANZANIA LOSE
HOPE FOR PROMPT START OF DISCUSSIONS WHICH COULD
LEAD TO NEGOTIATED SOLUTION RATHER THAN CONTINUATION
OF EFFORT ACHIEVE MILITARY SOLUTION.
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